3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
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of the different villages combine to repair or rebuild them all at the same time, their houses and terraces have always an uniform appearance, and are all of the same size. In the interior arrangements of their houses the fire-places, of which there are two, are placed on each side of the principal entrance; each is formed of a kind of shallow box, or framework, of strong pieces of wood filled with clay; this is supported on strong wooden posts reaching through the flooring to the ground, and extending to the top of the house. On the clay are four or five stones of a convenient size, which serve for sustaining the cooking pot over the fire, which is placed in the space left between them, and is always of wood, a large supply of which, split and ready, is always kept dry on another framework above the fire-place, and supported by the same posts. This it is the duty of the women constantly to replenish from the trees which have been felled in clearing the ground, and which are strewed abundantly all over their farms. As the roofs are high in the centre, and slope at a sharp angle, much room in the top of the house is rendered available by the Dyaks, who erect another flooring over the one they constantly use; thus they have a large and useful loft where they stow their baskets, mats, and implements of agriculture during the season they are not in use. As may be supposed, people in their state of barbarity have little need of furniture, which for the most part is used to administer to the purposes of luxury.

3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
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of luxury. The Dyaks eat their food from the ground for a table; each having taken a portion of rice which he considers sufficient for him, this, if he be not provided with a plate, which many of them are, is placed upon a clean leaf of the Dillenia speciosa, and he dips his hand into the common stock of salt which is placed in the centre of the group. If they have flesh to their repast it is partaken of in a similar manner to the salt. They never drink during their meal, but on rising wash their hands and mouths, and afterwards take a draught of water from the bamboos, which are always kept full near the fire-place. Though they eat from the ground or floor of their houses, they rarely sit cross-legged upon it like the Malays, but have each a small block of wood about three inches in thickness, which they use as a seat by day and a pillow by night.

Around the walls of the apartment hang the gongs and other musical instruments, and such portions of their dress as they do not happen to be using, together with their spears, shields, and instruments of war. One side of the house always contains a rack, in which are placed the naked swords of the family, the sheaths hanging by their side. The doors of their houses are protected on the inside by a bar, but as pilfering is rare amongst these people, it is perhaps more to prevent intrusion when they wish for privacy, than as a protection against robbers. This is rendered evident by the doors, which cannot be fas-

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 CC6 Iban OC6

out the smoke or to admit the fresh air. If the neighbours are near relations or intimate friends, as is often the case, a hole is cut in the wall which separates the room to avoid the necessity of a roundabout way into one another's apartments, and some villages are so arranged that one can traverse the entire length of the rear section of the building by means of these apertures without appearing on the verandah at all. There is no furniture in the room—none in fact being required. The floor is the occupiers' table and they squat to their meals. But there are plenty of mats to sit upon and baskets to pack their clothes in. Their cups and plates are hung in rows upon the walls as much for ornament as for use. Their valuables, such as old jars, gongs, etc., are ranged on three sides so as to present the most imposing appearance of wealth.

But the room is stuffy and untidy, and no wonder, seeing that there is but one for each family and this one is used as a kitchen as well as a mess room, as a nursery as well as a bed chamber. There can be no absolute privacy unless the door is barred to exclude the neighbours. Boys and girls keep running in and out and the dogs are always on the watch in the *tempuan* to spring in whenever the door swings open. The floor is swept after a fashion but the room is never deserted, and the roof is simply black with soot. The refuse is thrown into the piggery and poultry yard, which occupies the area or waste space under the house. Very little stench, if any, reaches the apartment from the ground, as the floor is raised too high above it to be affected by it. The *dapur* or fire-place is the only real piece of furniture in the room. It is built either to the right or to the left of the door set up against the wall of the *tempuan* and resembles an open cupboard, the lowest shelf resting upon the floor and the upper shelves being of lattice work instead of plank. The former is boarded all round and filled with clay. This is the fireplace and it is furnished with a few stones between which the pots are set. The shelf immediately above the fire is set apart for smoking fish and meat, etc. The shelves above this again are filled with firewood which being thoroughly dried is ready for use. The women, who do all the cooking, have also to keep these shelves supplied from the pile in the *tempuan*. As the smoke from the wood fire is not conducted to the roof by means of a chimney it spreads itself throughout the loft and blackens the beams and rafters until it finds its way out by the open window.[1]

[1] Elsewhere B. L. says: "They make a *palan* or raised platform and under it light a fire and heap it with dry twigs and fill the platform with split wood for drying as *bekal* (firewood). From the fire they take brands for other fires. They drive three pegs into the ground and place *prion* (jar) on top, fill

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 OC6 Iban OC6

The *tempuan* or general thoroughfare is between the *bilieh* and the *ruai*. It is three feet in width and is paved with wood. It is furnished with a ladder or notched stick by which to reach the loft, a family mortar where the women pound their paddy with wooden pestles to free it from the husk, and a pile or two of firewood reared by the men for use inside. This passage is also used by the women to winnow their rice in, feed their dogs, and attend to their chickens, and by the men to wash the dirt off their feet when they come home from their work. The wall of the *tempuan* is sometimes elaborately painted in various patterns, and the spears of the family are thrust into the skirting board so as to be handy.

The *ruai* or verandah is in front of the *tempuan* and is as nearly as possible the same size as the *bilieh* from which it differs principally in being open on all sides and without any partition. It is therefore a cooler and more agreeable place and as such is frequented by both sexes for the purposes of conversation, discussion, and indoor pursuits. Female visitors are usually received in the *bilieh*, but male visitors are invariably received in the *ruai* and only enter the bilieh when invited to do so to be introduced to the women and to share the meals. They sleep in the *ruai* along with the boys and bachelors, and sit there all day when they have nothing better to do, conversing with the head of the family and chewing betel. The floor is carpeted with thick and heavy mats of cane interlaced with narrow strips of beaten bark. Over these are spread other mats of thinner and finer texture. There is a small fireplace between this and the next *ruai* for the men to warm themselves at when they get up, as they usually do, in the chill of the morning, before the sun has risen above the trees; the fire is allowed to go out in the middle of the day, but is revived towards the evening when it is getting dark, but still too early to light the torches.

Some *ruais* are provided with a *panggan* or bedstead with plank sides in one corner of the room for the men to sleep in, but this is not always the case. If the head of the family has made it for his own use and if he be a chief or rich man he will fix his gongs of various kinds around it for the sake of show; his weapons will be within reach and his war dress will hang from the roof where it can be seen to best advantage —a skull cap of wickerwork with its nodding plumes, and a skin jacket decorated with the tail feathers of the war bird of the tribe. But the most valuable ornament in the *ruai* by far is

quarter with rice and fill up with water and when it simmers cover it with leaves. Before the arrival of Europeans the Dyaks used earthen *pots* made by themselves."

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

forming a roof which keeps off the rain and sun, and lasts for three or four years.

The long Dyak village house is built in a straight line, and consists of a long uncovered veranda, which is called the *tanju*. The paddy is put on the *tanju* to be dried by the sun before it is pounded to get rid of its husk and convert it into rice. Here also the clothes and a variety of other things are hung out to dry. The family whet-stone and dye vat are kept under the eaves of the roof, and the men sharpen their tools and the women do their dyeing on the *tanju*. The flooring of this part of the house is generally made of *bilian*, or iron-wood, so as to stand exposure to the weather.

Next to the *tanju* comes the covered veranda, or *ruai*. This also stretches the whole length of the house, and the floor is made of bamboo, or *nibong* (a kind of palm), split into laths and tied down with rattan or cane.

This *ruai*, or public hall, is generally about twenty feet wide, and as it stretches the whole length of the house without any partition, it is a cool and pleasant place, and is much frequented by men and women for conversation and indoor pursuits. Here the women often do their work—the weaving of cloth or the plaiting of mats. Here, too, the men chop up the firewood, or even make boats, if not of too great a size. This long *ruai* is a public place open to all comers, and used as a road by travellers, who climb up the ladder at one end, walk through the whole length of the house, and go down the ladder at the other end. The floor is carpeted with thick and heavy mats, made of cane interlaced with narrow strips of beaten bark. Over these are spread other mats of finer texture for visitors to sit upon.

The length of this covered veranda depends upon the

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

342 354 for cooking. The shelf immediately above the fireplace is set apart for smoking fish. The shelves above are filled with firewood, which is thoroughly dried by the smoke and ready for use. As the smoke from the wood fire is not conducted through the roof by any kind of chimney, it spreads itself through the loft, and blackens the beams and rafters of the roof.

342 264 352 This room also serves as a dining-room. When the food is cooked, mats are spread here, and the inmates squat on the floor to eat their meal. There is no furniture, the floor serving the double purpose of table and chairs.

342 513 This *bilik* also serves as a bedroom. At night the mats for sleeping on are spread out here, and the mosquito-curtains hung up.

342 354 There is no window to let in the air and light, but a portion of the roof is so constructed that it can be raised a foot or two, and kept open by means of a stick.

353 523 Round the three sides of this room are ranged the treasured valuables of the Dyaks—old jars, some of which are of great value, and brass gongs, and guns. Their cups and plates are hung up in rows flat against the walls. The flooring is the same as that of the veranda, and is made of split palm or bamboo tied down with cane.

356 The floor is swept after a fashion, the refuse falling through the flooring to the ground underneath. But the room is stuffy, and not such a pleasant place as the

231 open veranda. The pigs and poultry occupy the waste space under the house.

342 417 573 From the *bilik* there is a ladder which leads to an upper room, or loft (*sadau*), where they keep their tools and store their paddy. If the family be a large one, the young unmarried girls sleep in this loft, the boys and young men sleeping outside in the veranda.

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

[FACING P. 124]

A DYAK WEDDING

The bride is seated in the middle with a large filigree silver comb in her hair. The bridegroom is seated on her right, and her mother on her left. The old man on the right is the "Master of Ceremonies." Before him, covered with a native cloth, is the basket containing the pieces of split betel-nut, which are examined to see if the marriage will be a happy one.

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11:Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1957 OC6 Iban OC6

chanced to visit a number of the more distant Iban communities of the Third Division where earthenware pots were still being made and used. The main purpose of this present paper is to give an account of the technique of pottery making as my wife and I observed it in an Iban long-house in the head-waters of the Mujong River of the Kapit District.[4]

Early in November, 1949, so that we might witness a set of major rituals (the chief of which were several *gawai kenyalang*, or hornbill rituals) we had travelled to Rumah Tungku (a long-house of 50 apartments) in the lower reaches of the Sungai Tiau, a stream that rises among the grotesque granite peaks of the Hose Mountains and flows away to the south-west to become one of the main tributaries of the Mujong. Soon after our arrival, while making a census of the families of Rumah Tungku, we noticed that many of the apartments contained stocks of earthenware pots. Blackened by soot, they stood in racks above the elevated cooking hearth (*dapur*) of the apartment, or hung in rotan casings from the hearth's side-posts. When we asked about them we were told that all the pots we had seen had been made by women of Rumah Tungku from local clays and by traditional Iban methods. In several parts of the Baleh region we had come across other long-houses where pots of Iban make were being used, but nowhere had we seen as many *priok tanah* as at Rumah Tungku.

Clearly pottery making was a flourishing local industry, and we resolved to find out what we could about it as soon as the *gawai* we had come to observe and study were at an end.

By Friday, 25th November, even the most elaborate of the *gawai* had been over for several days. Life in the long-house was gradually returning to normal and routine domestic tasks that had been pushed to one side because of preoccupation with ritual matters of high importance were slowly being taken up again. So it was that on the morning of that Friday we came across old Runin, seated on a mat at the edge of her section of the great gallery (*ruai*) of the long-house, making a clay pot. Here was the opportunity we had been hoping for: we sat down beside her and watched.

During the previous weeks we had seen a good deal of Runin. She was a charming old lady, full of good humour, and possessing an expert knowledge of the part Iban women play in *gawai*

352 Only the poorest families do not have at least one large bed in the bilik and mattresses of kapok are increasingly common. Beds and mattresses are purchased from Chinese craftsmen in Sibu and then transported, often with much difficulty, to the longhouse. Mattresses on beds may be covered with tikai or, if they are placed on the floor, are rolled up against one of the walls when not in use. Pillows and mosquito nets complete the sleeping gear found in many bilik.

342 513 Married men and women sleep in the bilik, along with their young children. Girls always sleep in the bilik or sadau, while boys begin to sleep on the ruai from age twelve. Nursing infants sleep with their mothers and fathers or, if space in bed is inadequate, fathers sleep apart from the others, usually on the floor not far from them. In the few situations encountered of three-generation families who operate a shop, parents in the senior generation always slept in the shophouse, sometimes with a grandchild, and the intermediate generation slept in the bilik.

342 422 Most families keep their property in the bilik, and all heirlooms, such as old Chinese jars (tajau), large bronze gongs (tawak), sets of gamelan gongs (engkerumong), and the family's sacred rice (padi pun) [352] [199] and rice medicine are stored there or in the sadau. Increasingly, Chinese-made cupboards, desks, tables and chairs appear in the bilik. In six of the bilik at Rumah Nyala, vinyl-covered, foam-rubber cushioned chairs and [291] couches are found. Traditional costumes and fabrics are still stored in the bilik, but now with colorful synthetic clothes in glass-doored cupboards like display cases.